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AGRICULTURAL RECORDS; THEIR NATURE AND VALUE FOR RESEARCH

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Farming, together with the accompanying rurality, has been the main way of life in America until relatively recent times. Only since the World War has the urban population outnumbered the rural, and even today the total number of the latter is larger than at any previous period in the Nation's history. The vast maze of forces and conditions that have entered into the evolution of rural life constitute, therefore, a central theme in the history of the American people, and yet far too often American history has been written by blindly groping toward this theme rather than using it as a starting point. 2/ If the analyses of the Nation's past are to have reality, they must be derived from the basic records of this continuing ruralism, but, to use the words of Edwin F. Gay, "Common use and wont is one of the greatest enemies of the historical record; for ordinarily those gradual, day-by-day changes in attitude of mind in which multitudes participate are not observed and recorded." 3/ Granted this fact, attention must be given to the existing records that lie closest to the multitude of social and economic processes centering in agriculture. For purposes of discussion, these may be grouped as follows: the records originating with the individual farmer; the records of the organizations in the community to which the farmer belongs; and the records of the forces in the Nation that have reacted to mould and develop the farm and rural community.

The records which the individual farmer produces include diaries and account books, letters, and memoirs or reminiscences. 4/ The representative diary of the last century tended to be a sort of catch-all depository for information which the farmer sought to preserve and therefore often combined the functions of an account book and diary under one cover. Similarly plantation records tend to have an omnibus character. The one subject that receives constant notice in diaries is the weather, and this attention is an indication of the great concern which the farmer had for the most important and uncalculable factor in farming. The general dayby-day and season-by-season routine of farm life may be traced in diaries,

The remainder of the footnotes are at the end of the text.

^{1/} This paper was presented at the session on "Special-Type Archives" of the second annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists, Springfield, Ill., Oct. 26, 1938.

and the shifts in methods, production, and interests over a period of years gradually manifest themselves. Something is also usually given about implements and machinery. Prices paid for land and supplies and received for farm produce are recorded, sometimes systematically and sometimes only in a haphazard way. The effects of panics, depressions, and wartime inflations on rural life are often revealed, and frequently there are notations that throw light on the mental basis of the farmer's enmity for middlemen and towns - an attitude usually basic to the various protest movements.

Interesting data on the farmer and planter as social beings are also afforded in the diaries. They delineate the focal points of the social life in rural communities - especially the school, the church, and the plantation house - and indicate the role played as well as the amusements and entertainments supplied by each. The accepted codes of manners, customs, and morals are reflected in the notations of affronts to them. Similarly the comments on books, magazines, and newspapers indicate prevailing intellectual tastes.

A notable farm diary which has recently been made available in printed form is that of Mary Dodge Woodward, a New Englander who settled near Fargo in Dakota Territory. 5/ It covers the years 1884-89 and is especially valuable for the comments on the contrasts between pioneer conditions in the Red River Valley and those of the author's former homes in Wisconsin and Vermont. She also gave special attention to the climatic and other geographical features which affected settlement and to the changes in farming techniques and housekeeping methods.

As a historical source farmers' diaries are more satisfying in some respects to the general than to the agricultural historian. It is seldom possible to trace the operation of a farm and the activities of its family in detail through them. In the words of the historian who has made the most careful analysis of the content of this cource, "The entries give comparatively little information about the breeds of livestock and the varieties of grains that the farmer raised, his shifts from one breed or crop to another, and his reasons for making them. The diaries ignore the things that the farmer took for granted - his clothes, the interior of his house, his tools, his wife." They do, however, "convey to the reader something that is difficult to transfer to any account of them: the atmosphere of farm life, an appreciation of its struggles, hopes, and defeats." 6/

The utility of farmers' letters, especially if available as a fairly continuous series to individuals who were interested in knowing about farming and rural conditions in the community of the writer, is demonstrated by the printed collections that are available. Especially is this true of the so-called American letters which the students of Scandinavian and German immigration have gathered in Europe. 7/ More attention should be given to letters from the frontier to the older settled parts of America. An example is the letters which John Ise of the University of Kansas discovered and made available under the title, Sod-House Days. 8/ In this series, Howard Ruede, a homesteader, sought to draw a careful and graphic

picture of conditions in central-western Kansas during the 1870 s for the information of his family back in Pennsylvania. The hardships of pion-eering in the plains country are portrayed, and first-hand information is given on the status of agriculture at a time when the seeds of agrarian discontent which blossoned at the end of the century were taking root.

Reminiscences and menoirs constitute a source which is frequently dismissed as unreliable. Granting their limitations, their preparation and preservation should be actively encouraged. When historians discuss the realities of migration and pioneering — especially the reasons for migration and the choice of community and type of land — they often express regret that this step was not taken with the experiences of their own parents or grandparents, and this reaction indicates an appreciation of their value. In a radio broadcast on the blizzard of 1888, the extension service of the North Dakota Agricultural College invited old—timers to send in their recollections, and some interesting material was assembled as a result. 9/ Perhaps historical societies and similar agencies should follow this experiment. The use of reminiscences in creating backgrounds in rural fiction should also be pointed out. 10/

A superb example of the utility of personal reminiscences is available in John Ise's <u>Sod</u> and <u>Stubble</u>, an account of farming experiences in the plains country of Kansas which is built from his mother's recollections, supplemented by those of other pioneers and information gleaned from local rural newspaper files. Grasshopper plagues, prairie fires, droughts, dust storms, and the accidents, illnesses, and deaths of humans and livestock constitute a large part of the narrative. In the words of Professor Ise, "It is a story of a grin and tenacious devotion that never flagged until the long, hard task of near a lifetime was done." <u>11</u>/ The volume is not only a valuable contribution to agricultural history but a great human document for general American history.

The second group of records to be discussed are those produced by institutions and organizations of the rural community. The account books of country stores, mills, elevators, stockyards, tobacco warehouses, cotton gins, and similar businesses are basic sources and constitute an important means by which the social scientist, be he historian, economist, or sociologist, can glean the realities of the development of the various agricultural regions as well as that of the Nation as a whole. These records furnish data which indicate the course of rural standards of living; they reflect the influence of the competition of the various agricultural sections, the shifts and variations in crop and livestock production, and the changes in systems of farm management. They give the prices paid for groceries and clothing, machinery, fertilizers, twine, and other supplies, and the prices received for agricultural products. The country-store records afford information on the spread between rural and city prices and the changing margin between cost and selling prices.

Rural newspapers constitute community diaries, and like those of individuals, have similar values and weaknesses as a historical source. They customarily chronicle the activities of individuals and the unusual rather than the commonplace or accepted ways of rural life, and the bulk

of the organized data on businesses like creameries, cheese factories, elevators, and stockyards appear in anniversary numbers which are sometimes based on the local business records but more often on reminiscences or haphazard investigation. Usually the community must have gained an acknowledged leadership in some particular phase of agriculture before such events as the introduction of new varieties of grain or breeds of livestock are reported. Northfield, Minnesota, for example, prides itself on being the Holstein-Friesian capital of America, but it was only after this eminence was well on the way toward achievement that its papers began to report developments relating to the breed in the community.

Frequently netropolitan newspapers with a large rural circulation, especially their Sunday editions, have more information of value to historians of rural America than do local newspapers. The classic example is the New York Tribune during the editorship of Horace Greeley, and a contemporary example is the Minneapolis Sunday Tribune which has carried at least one full-page article, and occasionally many more, depicting current agricultural conditions, practices, and developments in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, the Dakotas, and Montana, for nearly two decades. Fortunately the better-equipped and more farsighted of the State historical societies have sedulously collected and premoted the use of the rural newspapers that come within their sphere of interest. 12/

A word must also be said concerning the proceedings of local agricultural clubs of various kinds. Apparently little attention has been paid to them by manuscript collectors, and yet they often have buried within them the story of the farmers' efforts to solve their problems by collective thinking and action. Their utility is illustrated by the study of the tedious but crucial trial-and-error adaptation of the Eastern agricultural system to the sub-humid environment which James C. Malin was able to make by using the minutes of a township farmers' club. 13/ Similar studies, based on such records as the minutes of the North Star Grange at the Minnesota Historical Society, would be useful contributions to American agricultural history.

The rural communities of America have functioned governmentally by towns and counties, and the archives of these political units, therefore inherently relate to agriculture in many ways. The mortgage, tax, and land-transfer records contribute to an understanding of general economic conditions as well as detailed studies involving these subjects, and the probate records throw light on representative holdings and values of property. 14/Fortunately, the work of the National Survey of County Archives has served to demonstrate to local custodians the utility of more careful attention to these records.

We come now to the third group of records, namely those relating to the forces in the Nation that have reacted on the farmer and his community. These forces include colonization and settlement, land policies and systems of landholding and labor, equipment of all kinds, marketing and financing, political activities, and the agencies that have disseminated knowledge of improved methods to agriculture and rural life. Not all of the records relating to these forces will be discussed in detail in this paper as some of them are already generally known or considered elsewhere.

In connection with colonization and settlement, attention is called to the useful generalizations which Joseph Schafer has been able to supply in his <u>Wisconsin Domesday Book</u> series by analyzing the descriptions of land made by the original surveyors and by geological and soil surveys, the land-office records of entries which show when, where, and by whom the land was taken, and the manuscript census returns on individuals, farms, and industries. <u>15</u>/ For the present discussion, his results are significant because corresponding records for practically all of the United States are available.

The history of the policies by which land passed from the Federal Government to individual owners centers in official archives and reports, especially those of the General Land Office. The archives of the Department of the Interior which are in Washington have been carefully inventoried by representatives of the National Archives, and those outside the District of Columbia have been appraised by the WPA Survey of Federal Archives. The history of the policies pursued by the States with reference to the land granted to them by the Federal Government lies buried, for the most part, in their respective archives. The Federal and State archives also contribute considerable information to the more significant subject of how land came into the possession of farmers. They must, however, be supplemented with the business records of land companies, individual speculators, and the railroads which received land grants.

The tangible records for research on farm tenancy and labor are elusive as the terms and conditions concerning them have often rested on gradually accepted local customs and oral agreements. The archives of counties include copies of the leases that have been filed, and there are a number of official publications that are based on the census reports and the findings of commissions and surveys. Nowhere, however, is there a single group of records that give one a grip on the realities of these subjects, and especially is this true of farm labor. Even agricultural periodicals, a source to be discussed later, have relatively little on these matters.

An important factor in the transformation of farming from a simple, pioneer, and largely self-sufficing occupation into a business which produces surpluses for the Nation and the world at large was the introduction of many labor-saving machines. The records relating to their development, manufacture, and distribution are, therefore, an important part of the subject at hand. The preservation of data relating to inventions and patents, including their sale and utilization, has long since become important for the business offices of the extant companies in defending claims, and the almost unlimited opportunities offered to historians and economists may be illustrated by a brief reference to the holdings of the McCormick Utilizing the foresight, diligence, Historical Association in Chicago. and enthusiasm of its director, Herbert A. Kellar, it has developed a collection of printed, manuscript, and museum materials on a wide range of subjects centering about the activities and interests of Cyrus H. McCormick, the inventor of the reaper, and his family. Included in its manuscript collection which numbers well over a million and a half items are the extensive personal papers of the LoCormick family, the earlier ones pertaining to life in Virginia and the later ones to the Mississippi Valley and elsewhere. The voluminous records of the McCormick companies constitute

another important group and include letters received and sent, ledgers of orders, sales, and deliveries, cash books, day books, and patent papers—in short, the sources for the continuous and detailed history of the development of a vast international economic organization. These same sources, it may be added, include data concerning the development of manufacturing, advertising, marketing, accounting, tereal production, and the relations of capital and labor, and also the settlement and economic growth of the agricultural regions of America. Illustrations of farm machinery have been given special attention, and the same is true of originals, replicas, and models of the machines which embodied significant technical advances. Other machinery companies have records of like importance which should be made available for research workers.

The records of the many organizations and institutions which have been involved in the marketing of agricultural products deserve similar emphasis, for, in the opinion of leading historians, the development of marketing is the central force in economic evolution. They are the sources for studies of the spread between what the farmer receives and the consumer pays, the various ways by which attempts have been made to increase the farmers' share of the retail price, the mulitudinous functions which the Federal and State Governments have been forced to assume on behalf of the farmer in the marketing mechanism, the migration of the processing of products from the farm to the mill, packing house, and factory, and many other similar significant The records and catalogs of mail-order houses are of special importance in studies relating to rural purchases, and although their bulk is formidable, the day has already arrived when research workers, and especially economic analysts, have to rely on this category of material to a Representative samples of the business records concerned with marketing and consumption have been gathered by the Business Historical Society and other agencies which have responded to its encouragement and example. 16/

The American farmer has frequently sought to better his position by political action, and studies like Solon J. Buck's Granger Movement and John D. Hicks's Populist Revolt have emphasized the value of the records relating to the various protest movements. More attention should, however, be given to the farmers' organizations which did not actually culminate in direct political action. Their publications frequently embody proposals and theories which became the leavens and bases for later thought and action. An example is the American Society of Equity whose ideas are in the background of the cooperative movement and the movement for agricultural equality with industry.

Data for studies of the various farm crops and regions are available in practically all of the records here discussed. For all periods, travel literature has much information which can be utilized to good advantage. 17/Solon J. Buck's bibliographical study of the materials for early Illinois pointed the way, and aids like Frank Monahan's list of French travelers' accounts are of much assistance. 18/ It may be hoped that the project for a comprehensive bibliography of American travel literature will soon be completed.

Crops and livestock also have a technical history, and in this connection, it is pertinent to call attention to the Department of Agriculture Library's cellection of catalogs and other trade publications of nursery and seed businesses. It includes over 62,000 items and is the largest of its kind in the United States. For from being epheneral as many may assume, these catalogs are essential to research workers who are concerned with the history, nomenclature, description, and location of fruits, vegetables, and ornamentals. The provenance of a plant as recorded contemporaneously in a seed catalog is often of great value and not readily found anywhere else. Since the 1880's the libraries of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society and the Cornell University have also made systematic collections of trade catalogs. 19/ The breed books, registers, and journals relating to the various breeds of livestock are of similar value.

More conscious and systematic attention should also be given to pictures of all kinds and actual physical representations of farm life. The tremendous impression of volumes like You Have Seen Their Faces and Land of the Free serves to emphasize this point. 20/ In recent years, agencies of the Federal Government have taken thousands of pictures in the course of their work. Many of these are used in publications to illustrate specific points in reconstruction programs. Too little attention, however, is given to the exact provenance of these pictures, and especially to their preservation as historical records.

Likewise it is important to preserve and restore physical survivals which show just how the rural folk of representative periods and regions lived and farmed. 21/ The restoration of the New Salem of Lincoln's day may well be taken as a model for similar undertakings, and the careful research and diligence of Herbert A. Kellar will make it possible to say the same of the McCormick plantation in the Valley of Virginia. The folk and open-air museums of Europe have an interesting counterpart in the Norwegian-American Historical Museum at Decorah, Iowa, and the work of Russell H. Anderson at the Museum of Science and Industry in Chicago also provides many examples of useful techniques and procedures.

A vast part of the records of the third group center about the gradual development and application of scientific knowledge to agriculture. The media by which this knowledge reached farmers are many, and in the order of their historical appearance, they may be listed as follows: agricultural leaders, agricultural societies and fairs, agricultural periodicals, State boards and departments of agriculture, the United States Department of Agriculture, and the agricultural schools, colleges, and experiment stations.

The term agricultural leaders is here used for the vast array of individuals who have contributed, directly or indirectly, to the improvement of agriculture and rural life. The first in America were for the most part men of affairs like Franklin, Washington, Jefferson, and Clay whose farming interests were subsidiary, whatever their professed inclinations may have been, and a long list of agricultural editors and writers, inventors, scientists, promoters of protest movements, and agricultural officials followed. 22/ The papers of those men, a considerable number of whom are not in the Dictionary of American Biography, should be sought out and

developed as collections for use in research. The little known Daniel Lee whose life span covered most of the nineteenth century will serve as an example. He was editor of the <u>Genessee Farmer</u> in New York, director of the division of agriculture in the Patent Office, and agricultural teacher and editor in Georgia and Tennessee. So far as agriculture is concerned, his thinking presaged the New Deal in a number of respects.

The analysis by Rodney H. True of the thirty-nine letters in the Yale University Library that were addressed to Jared Eliot as a result of his essays on field husbandry in New England indicates the value of such collections. 23/ Because of the attention which his essays received, Eliot became a sort of clearing house of information for those who cared to exchange ideas on farming.

The letters by Solon Robinson, that veritable Arthur Young of mid-nine-teenth-century America, which have been brought together and edited in a superb manner by Herbert A. Kellar, illustrate even more forcefully the importance of this type of material. 24/ Written by an acute observer, these letters, many of which were prepared for contemporaneous publication in agricultural periodicals, are a treasure chest of historical data on all phases of American life, including agriculture.

The records of the agricultural societies are likewise important. With one or two exceptions, the first series of societies, beginning with the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture in 1785, hardly reached actual dirt farmers, yet their efforts in the form of pamphlets devoted to contemporaneous methods in Europe and America did much to pave the way for translations, American adaptations, and original treatises on agriculture.

An annotated bibliography of these agricultural works - arranged chronologically as well as alphabetically - would be a great boon to agricultural historians. It would begin with Jared Eliot's Essays Upon Field Husbandry in New England (1760), the ananymous American Husbandry (1775), and John Spurrier's Practical Farmer (1793) and should continue to the latter part of the nineteenth century when the agricultural colleges had delineated their curriculums and begun to provide textbooks for their courses. Buried within these volumes is the scientific and folk knowledge relating to agriculture which was then current in America. Preparation of such a list would involve a search of the catalogs of agricultural libraries, especially that of the United States Department of Agriculture, compilations like Joseph Sabin's Dictionary of Books relating to America, and the imprint studies that are now appearing as a result of Douglas C. McMurtrie's talented and energetic efforts as director of the American Imprints Inventory.

The activities of the second and later series of agricultural societies owed their inspiration and impetus to Elkanah Watson and center about the agricultural fair, that great American institution which has played such an important rôle in popular education and diversion. These societies were usually organized by counties, and the value of their records is illustrated by the printed version of the minutes of the Albemarle Agricultural Society. 25/ They show how an organized group of farmers sought to spread a knowledge of the means of resuscitating and improving the agriculture of

the community which contributed Jefferson and many other eminent leaders to the Nation.

The early State boards of agriculture usually consisted of representatives from the county agricultural societies which stemmed from Watson's efforts. The main function of these boards was the publication of annual and other reports which constitute an important, but little used, source of data on agricultural and rural conditions during the 1840's, 50's, 60's, and 70's. In this instance, not only a list but a comprehensive author, subject, and regional index is needed. The Library of the United States Department of Agriculture undertook to prepare such a key some years ago, but has not been able to complete the project.

Next in chronological order of origin come agricultural periodicals, and by way of introduction to this brief discussion of them, it may be stated that they probably constitute the most important of the sources here considered, not only for those who are interested in strictly agricultural history but for the general historian as well. 26/ Their history begins with the Agricultural Museum which was inaugurated at Georgetown, D. C., on July 4, 1810, and continues to the present day. The number of these periodicals is legion, and the subjects for which they supply data are correspondingly numerous. Recalling again the significance of agriculture and its accompanying rurality as a central theme in American history, it is logical that research workers should give more attention to the periodicals which were consciously designed to serve as the main clearing house for information relating to agriculture and mural life. Each editor had his own ideas of the particular mission of his paper; each decade brought forth new problems and interests; and each generation of readers had to be approached in a different way, therefore, there is considerable variation in the contents of this source.

If copies or microfilm enlargements of the farm journals relating to a specific geographical region, such as a State, could be cut up, even figuratively speaking, into articles, editorials, news items, advertisements, etc., and the resulting notes arranged chronologically according to subjects in a classified file the result would be a veritable source history of the evolution of rural life and thought in that region, together with countless sidelights on its general economic, social, and political history. Even a comprehensive and carefully cross-referenced index to a complete collection of the journals dealing with specified regions would go a long way toward serving the same end. At least the outstanding journals like John Stuart Skinner's American Farner and Edmund Ruffin's Farmers' Register which are representative of their period and region should be so handled. Such indexes might well be prosecuted as a WPA project in a manner similar to the indexes of metropolitan newspapers.

Research workers should be provided with a complete list of these periodicals, arranged geographically and alphabetically, with annotations indicating the publication dates and forms, editors, and holders of the main files. The unpublished "List of American Agricultural Journals" which was prepared by the late Stephen Conrad Stuntz in anticipation of the fiftieth anniversary of the United States Department of Agriculture fills

some of these specifications. It is now owned by the Department Library which has done some work looking toward its publication. Here again, however, lack of assistance has deprived scholars of a valuable tool which would aid in the exploitation of this source. Perhaps a union catalog of the sort needed could be completed with WPA assistance.

From the voluntary activities of one man, Henry L. Ellsworth, who sought to provide a national clearing house for agriculture, the United States Department of Agriculture has evolved into a vast institution which consciously and concretely serves every community in America. Official summaries of its activities have appeared in many published forms. archives in Washington have been carefully examined by representatives of the National Archives and certain of the non-active material has already been transferred to its custody. Similarly the WPA Survey of Federal Archives has checked the files of the Department which have accumulated in The reports of this survey are making the whereabouts its field offices. and contents of these archives more generally known. It should also be pointed out that the archives of other Federal agencies are frequently directly related to agriculture. Those of the United States Food Administration and the United States Grain Corporation are an example. 27/

After the trial—and—error experiments of many institutions and movements during the 1840's, 50's, and 60's, the Nation has come to be served by the agricultural colleges and experiment stations of today. The archives and publications of these institutions are part of the subject here discussed, and their preservation for active use should be encouraged. The State historical societies would do well to give attention to the records of the institutions and agricultural—education movements which have long since died, and the land—grant colleges and experiment stations should preserve their records in a systematic manner. Doing so would facilitate evaluations of their contributions to science and the betternent of rural life.

Many agricultural records of the character here delineated have been located through the activities of the Historical Records Survey, and consequently the various agencies that are specializing in their collection, preservation, and use have a new and unusual opportunity to intensify their efforts. With the possibilities now afforded by microphotography, a national clearing house could do much to make many of these records available at the Federal Capital and other research centers as well as in the locality which produced them.

FOOTNOTES

This point of view, and especially the topics involved, is given more detailed consideration in E. E. Edwards, "Middle Western Agricultural History as a Field of Research," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 24:315-328 (December 1937). For other similar articles, see E. E. Edwards, "References on Agricultural History as a Field for Research," U. S. Department of Agriculture, Library, Bibliographical Contributions 32 (Washington, D. C., 1937).

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- <u>6</u>/ In this discussion of diaries and account books, the author is indebted to R. C. Loehr, "Come Sources for Northwest History: Minnesota Farmers' Diaries," Minnesota History, 18:284-297 (September 1937). The quotations are on p. 297. This article also appeared with the title, "Farmers' Diaries; Their Interest and Value as Historical Sources, " in Agricultural History, 12:313-325 (October 1938). See also S. J. Buck, ed., "Making a Farm on the Frontier; Extracts from the Diaries of Mitchell Young Jackson," Agricultural History, 4:92-120 (July 1930); J. L. Davies, "The Diary of a Cardiganshire Farmer, 1870-1900," Welsh Journal of Agriculture, 10:5-20 (January 1934); C. M. G[ates], "Some Sources for Northwest History; Account Books," Minnesota History, 16:70-75 (March 1935); [Mrs. K. B. Legge], "The Importance of Farm and General Store Account Books in Business History," Business Historical Society, Bulletin, 5(2):12-14 (February 1931); "Agricultural Records in the Baker Library," ibid., 9:60-63 (June 1935). For a revelation of how old account books can be made to live, see G. E. Fussell, ed., Robert Loder's Farm Accounts, 1610-1620 (London, 1936); and I. F. Grant, Every-Day Life on an Old Highland Farm, 1769-1782 (London, 1924).
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- 2/ Letter from Dean H. L. Waster to E. E. Edwards, Jan. 19, 1938.

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